Anti-Semitism

A THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

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94

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ANTI-SEMITISM
A THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

STATEMENT BY THE AUTHORS

This pamphlet grows out of discussions in which we and some of our friends have taken part. Believing that anti-Semitism cannot withstand exposure to the truth, we feel that the views and the facts that have been brought forward in the course of our discussions are worthy of the attention of the people of New England. We wish to thank the distinguished group of citizens who have agreed to sponsor the pamphlet in order that it might more effectively attack one of the principal enemies of democracy.

DANIEL BOORSTIN — GEORGE MAYBERRY — JOHN RACKLIFFE

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Table of Contents

		Page
I.	Will It Ever Happen Here?	3
II.	The Jews in New England	5
III.	The Threat to Liberty	9
IV.	The Story of anti-Semitism	12
V.	Father Coughlin Against the Facts . . .	17
VI.	The Catholics and the Jews	22
VII.	How Many Rich Jews?	26
VIII.	How to Combat anti-Semitism	29

STATEMENT BY THE SPONSORS

We hold that it is the imperative duty of every American to give his active support to the ideals of civil and religious liberty which all of us cherish. Since we believe that this pamphlet contributes to that end, we urge our fellow-citizens to read it thoughtfully and to secure for it the widest possible circulation.

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Will It Ever Happen Here?

Imagine an American schoolroom five years from now. An American flag stands in one corner. A class in science is being held, and suddenly the teacher calls a Jewish child to the front of the room. The child is fair-skinned. Her grandparents and great-grandparents were born in this country. Her father fought in the World War. But the teacher, under orders she dares not disobey, takes a book on race theory and reads to the class. This child, she says, is impure, un-American, unworthy to associate with the other children. There are giggles and jeers from some of the pupils who have heard words of hatred spoken against the Jews in their homes. The sobbing child tries to run away, but the teacher keeps her there while she compares her and her parents to savages, to unclean beasts, to monkeys in the jungle. Then she sends the child from the school, telling her she can never return.

Imagine a Catholic Church in America five years from now. It is Sunday, and while the mass is being said stones crash through the stained-glass windows. The people cower, while uniformed troopers march down the aisles, kicking aside the panic-stricken men and women. They go straight to the altar, seize the priest. With jeers and blows they drive him down through the hushed worshippers, who know that he will never re-

turn from the concentration camp to which he is being taken.

Imagine the home of a college professor late some night five years from now. He is on the troopers' list of those who have dared to speak out against the persecution of the Jews, and they have come for him, breaking down the door, marching to the bedroom, seizing him and his wife. The wife is pushed out of the car as they come into the city, and is set to cleaning latrines with a group of Jewish women. The husband is taken to headquarters, to be turned over to the sadists of the torture squad.

We do not want to believe that these things could happen under the American flag. But thousands of people are now barred from employment in many places because they happen to be Jews. Negroes have been horribly tortured, mutilated, and burned alive under that flag. Helpless strikers have been gassed and shot and beaten to death under that flag. Can we forget Centralia, Gallup, Camp Hill, the Imperial Valley, Jersey City, Chicago on Memorial Day, 1937 ?

We firmly believe that the conscience of America, once it is aroused, must and will eliminate these outrages against democracy. We firmly believe that the conscience of America, once it is aroused, will refuse to allow the germs of anti-Semitism to develop into the Black Plague of Fascism. But to arouse our country's conscience — this is our task, the task of all those who truly love America and American democracy.

The Jews In New England

All of us who live in New England would do well to remind ourselves of the part Jews have played in our history. In an address to the B'nai B'rith, delivered at the White House, June 15, 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt said: "One of the most touching poems of our own great poet, Longfellow, is that on the Jewish cemetery in Newport, and anyone who goes through any of the old cemeteries of the cities which preserve the records of Colonial times will see the name of many an American of the Jewish race, who, in war or in peace, did his full share in the founding of this nation. From that day to this, from the day when the Jews of Charleston, of Philadelphia, of New York, supported the patriot cause, and helped in every way, not only by money, but by arms, Washington and his colleagues, who were founding this Republic — from that day to the present we have had no struggle, military or civil, in which there have not been citizens of Jewish faith who played an eminent part for the honor and credit of the nation."

With how much reason the President spoke must be clear to anyone who looks at the rolls of the armies of the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, the War against Spain, and especially the World War. Let those who call the Jews unpatriotic note the number

of Jewish names in proportion to the number of Jews in the United States, and let them read of the distinguished services these men performed.

True Americans have always acknowledged the patriotism of the Jews, and have defended them against discrimination. In our own New England, as elsewhere, the fight against anti-Semitism has always been part of the fight for democracy. Children learn in the schools of Roger Williams, who was driven out of Massachusetts Bay Colony in the cold winter to go off through the forests to Rhode Island to found a new colony where freedom of conscience and political equality could flourish. Williams, who had struggled bravely against the intolerance and cruelty of the Puritans, wrote to Cromwell, "I humbly conceive it to be the duty of the civil magistrate to break down that superstitious wall of separation (as to civil things) between the Gentiles and the Jews, and freely without their asking to make way for their free and peaceable habitation among us." As a result of his policies many Jews came to Newport from Portugal, played an important part in the life of the state, and gave liberally to the patriotic cause during the Revolution.

Jews spread slowly to other New England states. Though they were few in number until well into the nineteenth century, they were widely respected. The Pinto brothers of Yale were Revolutionary leaders, and Solomon Pinto was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati. The first great American

philanthropist, Judah Touro, who was one of the few Jews resident in Boston before the Revolutionary War, was wounded fighting under Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. He was the father of charitable institutions in Boston, gave money to found the Massachusetts Female Hospital, the Female Asylum of Boston, the Boys' Asylum of Boston. Most symbolic of all, he contributed ten thousand dollars necessary to complete Bunker Hill Monument. Thus the memorial, still rising above Boston, of one of the first great battles for liberty in America was made possible by a Jew who himself risked his life for the country he loved.

Because of their interest in Hebrew, and because of the part the Old Testament played in their thinking, the earlier Puritan ministers, despite their rigid beliefs, were indulgent and tolerant toward the Jews. Ezra Stiles, theologian and president of Yale, had many intimates among the cultured Jews of Newport. And with the development of democracy and freedom of thought in New England, voice after voice among the most representative writers, politicians and clergymen was raised against discrimination and intolerance. John Adams wrote, "In spite of Bolingbroke and Voltaire, I will insist that the Hebrews have done more to civilize men than any other nation." William Ellery Channing, the great Unitarian leader, wrote, "It is because I have learned the essential equality of men before the common Father, that I cannot endure to see one man establishing his arbitrary will over another by fraud, force . . . or superstitious claims." Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote,

"You complain that the Negroes are a base class. Who makes and keeps the Jew or the Negro base, who but you, who excludes them from the rights which others enjoy?"

This is the New England spirit which we must keep alive, the spirit of a New England whose greatest names risked their careers and even their lives in the struggle to end the degradation of the Negro people. We must not let the evil spirit of the witchcraft trials and the persecution of the Quakers rise again in New England.

The Threat To Liberty

Recently a prominent Jewish comedian, back from Europe, spoke at a meeting of people concerned with the refugee problem. He told of having dinner in London with a man who had just been released from a concentration camp in Germany. That night the comedian could not sleep. His mind returned again and again to the fiendish tortures he had heard described by one who had seen them and suffered them.

Two weeks later the speaker was on the deck of a ship approaching New York. "When I saw the Statue of Liberty," he said, "I actually broke down and cried like a kid. We people in America don't half appreciate the freedom this country gives us."

In this statement the comedian was half right and half wrong. He was right when he said Americans don't half appreciate the principles of liberty and democracy written into the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. But he was wrong in thinking that once he was past the Statue of Liberty he had left race prejudice and the threat of Fascism behind him. . . .

What did the comedian think when he heard Father Coughlin's radio speech of November 20? Did he sleep peacefully that night? What does he think when

he sees the anti-Semitic writings issued by more than eight hundred groups in the United States ?

Can any of us, Gentiles or Jews, sleep peacefully after hearing one of Father Coughlin's tirades ? We dream of the stake and the torture chambers of the Middle Ages. We hear the Czarist Black Hundreds riding down on villages in the night, murdering, raping, braining infants against the sides of buildings. We see prisoners in the concentration camps of Germany forced to clean floors with their tongues amid the jeers and kicks of selected guards. We awake with a start of terror.

Can we, waking, rejoice that we are in the United States ? We can ! But we know that the poison that helped to destroy Germany is being absorbed bit by bit in the veins of our own country. After we have heard one of Father Coughlin's speeches, or read the vicious lies being turned out by hundreds of printing presses, we walk the streets with less confidence that the United States, just because it is the United States, is safe from the race hatreds and Fascist tyrannies of Europe. Our country doesn't "give" us liberty; we have to pay for it, and the price is action, organized, courageous, democratic action against those forces who would take liberty from us. It is not a time for retreat, but for advance. No one can afford to wait or to be silent.

We don't want pogroms in America. We don't want Fascism in America. And we won't have them. But

we have a fight on our hands. We face attacks on Jews, on liberals, on Catholics, on Protestants, on democracy itself. They never come alone. One always leads to another.

What is the history of anti-Semitism? What causes anti-Semitic feeling? What kind of people are responsible for it? What are Father Coughlin's motives? Does he tell the truth? Does he represent the opinion of the Catholic Church? How can we solve the problem of anti-Semitism? These are some of the questions that this brief pamphlet attempts to answer for the people of New England.

The Story of Anti-Semitism

There is a tribe of savages in Africa that does not understand the causes of disease. When there is a plague, these people do not look for germs or try to improve sanitation. They pick out some one unfortunate man or woman, usually one who looks different from the others, who has different colored hair, or a funny nose, or is deformed in some way. They take the victim to the place where they believe God to be. They torture and finally kill him, and throw his body out of the land. This ceremony has gone on for years, but disease continues to visit the tribe.

The story of anti-Semitism is very much like the story of these savages. Indeed, in the Middle Ages, when a great plague swept over Europe, the cry went up, "Get rid of the Black Death by killing the Jews!"

Today, nobody in Europe or America thinks of blaming epidemics on the Jews, but we have other evils that are as little understood as plagues were six hundred years ago. Modern society suffers from economic depressions, low wages, poverty, and unemployment, and many people, instead of studying these problems scientifically, blame them on individuals and groups, especially on the Jews.

In some ways the situation in so-called civilized society

is worse than among the savage tribe of Africa, for among the savages only ignorance is to be blamed. In our society, on the other hand, ignorance is deliberately encouraged. Farmers, factory workers, clerks, professional men, owners of small businesses — all these people face unemployment, low incomes, insecurity. If they could face their common problems clearly, no doubt mutually helpful solutions could be found. But there are those who for selfish reasons oppose such cooperation. They try to spread confusion and division, and find anti-Semitism one of the best ways of doing this.

Throughout history, the powers-that-be have utilized the instrument of anti-Semitism to make of the Jew their convenient scape-goat. Especially in times of distress, the anger of the non-Jewish peasant, artisan and worker was directed against the Jews. The Jews have thus been used as the whipping-boy through the ages.

Forms of anti-Semitism have existed for a long time. In the Middle Ages there were laws that virtually forced many Jews to act as money-lenders. Jews were not permitted to buy or own land and become farmers. Jews were not permitted to enter government service or the armies of the countries in which they lived. Jews were not permitted to go into industry.

With all means of livelihood denied to them, except commerce and trade, the result was that many Jews became traders and small-business people and some of the more successful, bankers, financiers, and usurers.

Thus the "business instinct" for which many Jews are now condemned, was something imposed upon them by those who condemned them.

Furthermore, the Princes and Emperors took from the Jews what the Jews took from the people. Thus the rulers got the money, and the Jews got the blame.

In modern times, with depressions every seven or eight years, anti-Semitism has been more highly organized. After the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, Germany had a short boom and then a bad depression. The people were getting ready to do something about the situation, and it was necessary to stop them. Suddenly a man appeared who was able to mislead large numbers of people and keep them from accomplishing anything. His name was Adolf Stoecker, a Court preacher, and he founded the "Christian Social Labor Party." He told the aristocrats and conservatives that the Jews were radicals; he told the nationalists that the Jews believed in internationalism; he told the employers that the Jews were organizing labor; and he told the workers that the Jews were greedy capitalists.

That is the way anti-Semitism works. In France, at this same time, it was used by monarchists and other enemies of democracy. In the famous Dreyfus case, high officers in the French army accused Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jew, of treason, and they used forgery and perjury to conceal facts that proved his innocence. Believers in truth and democracy, like Emile Zola, backed by the French workers and the Socialist Party

of France, courageously brought the ugly facts out into the open, and fought the case to a successful conclusion. The anti-Semitic plotters were exposed and discredited.

The worst situation before the World War was in Russia, where the government deliberately encouraged and co-operated in pogroms, and where every pogrom was followed by more and more repressive laws. Outstanding dignitaries of the Catholic Church, such as the Bishop in Warsaw, protested, as did Cardinal Manning, but the outrages continued. After 1900, as the labor movement grew stronger, anti-Semitism was used in an attempt to divide the working class. Anti-Semitic bands, called the "Black Hundreds" sprang up under government protection, and in 1905 there were 690 pogroms in six days. So shocked were the people of the United States that Congress unanimously adopted a resolution expressing its concern and sympathy.

Anti-Semitism existed, then, long before Nazism. It was taken up by the Nazis and Fascists, who use all the reactionary tricks that have been developed through the ages. Hitler, however, was not satisfied with equalling his predecessors in cruelty; he has surpassed them in lying slander. Using his terrorized professors, he has tried to strengthen anti-Semitism by nonsense about racial purity and the part played by various "races" in history. The racial teachings of the Nazis have been exposed again and again by the highest scientific authorities, just as they have been attacked as un-Christian by Catholics and Protestants alike; but they are im-

posed upon the German people, and they have now been adopted by Mussolini. Anti-Semitism, always the tool of reactionaries, is bound to be part of Nazism and Fascism, and that is as true in the United States as anywhere else.

America's leading scientists recently put the fascist racial "theories" on the dissecting table. They found them foul and false to the core.

At a meeting held at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, on Thursday, December 29, 1938, three hundred outstanding anthropologists of the U. S. A. passed a resolution denouncing racial propaganda.

Looking at this question through the clear eyes of scientific truth these men of science concluded :

> *"The terms 'aryan' and 'semitic' have no racial significance whatsoever. . . .*
>
> *"Anthropology provides no scientific basis for discrimination against any people on the ground of racial inferiority, religious affiliation, or linguistic heritage."*

Among the distinguished anthropologists who adopted this resolution were Father John M. Cooper of Catholic University, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Franz Boas, professor-emeritus, Columbia University; Professor E. A. Hooton of Harvard; Dr. Clark Wissler of the Museum of Natural History; and many others.

Thus we see American scientists reaffirming established truth against fascist and Nazi venom and lies.

Father Coughlin Against the Facts

In his book, *My Battle,* which is the bible of the Nazis, Hitler says that propaganda does not need to pay much attention to facts. Anti-Semites have always known this, and when Father Coughlin, who speaks as an individual and not for his Church, made his broadcast on November 20, he was in the best anti-Semitic tradition. He did not bother much about the facts.

It was no surprise to hear Father Coughlin attacking the Jews, for long before November 20 George Seldes had correctly described him as "the leading anti-Semite" in America, and had exposed the anti-Semitic propaganda in Coughlin's magazine, *Social Justice.* The broadcast of November 20 was shocking, for it came at a time when the civilized world was horrified by the persecution of the Jews in Germany. Father Coughlin pretended that he was not trying to defend the persecutions, but the Nazi leaders know better, and their papers have made him a national hero because of this speech.

As a matter of fact, the Nazi leaders were really applauding their own words, because it has been shown that Father Coughlin has borrowed heavily from Nazi publications. For instance, compare Father Coughlin's article in *Social Justice* of December 5, 1938, with the

speech of Paul Joseph Goebbels in Nuremberg on September 13, 1935 :

Goebbels: "On April 30, 1919, in the courtyard of the Luitpold Gymnasium in Munich, ten hostages, among them one woman, were shot through the backs, their bodies rendered unrecognizable and taken away. This act was done at the order of the Communist terrorist Egelhofer and under the responsibility of the Jewish Soviet Commissars, Levien, Levine-Nissen, and Axelrod."

Father Coughlin: "On April 30, 1919, in the courtyard of the Luitpold Gymnasium in Munich, ten hostages, among them one woman, were murdered. This act was perpetrated by the direct order of the Communist terrorist Egelhofer, and under the responsibility of the Jewish Soviet Commissars, Levien, Levine-Nissen and Axelrod."

This is only a small portion of the extended analysis made in the *New York Post* of December 30, 1938.

This article of Father Coughlin was a perfect example of what Hitler recommends in *My Battle*. Coughlin argues that Fascism is the only possible defense against Communism, that the Jews are responsible for the rise of Communism, that they are therefore responsible for the rise of Fascism. So, he concludes, if they are persecuted, they have only themselves to blame.

Are the Jews responsible for Communism ? Well, look at the case of Germany. In 1932 there were 6,000,000 Communist votes cast. There were only 300,000 Jewish voters. Now, even if all the Jews had voted the Communist ticket, which of course they did not, you could scarcely blame the Communist movement in

Germany on the Jews. The truth of the matter is that most wealthy Jews supported Hindenburg, and some Jewish bankers and industrialists financed Hitler and the Nazis.

What about Russia ? Coughlin gives a totally wrong picture of the Revolution in Russia, and of the Soviet government. But let us forget that for the time being, and simply ask: Were the Jews responsible for the Revolution in Russia ?

Coughlin offers what he calls "evidence". He says that, of twenty-five important officials of Lenin's government, twenty-four were Jews. The fact is that only seven were Jews. Among the well-known non-Jews on the first Council of Commissars were Lenin, Stalin, Kalinin, Milutin, Krassin, Lunacharsky and Kassior.

Coughlin says that of the fifty-nine members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1935, fifty-six were Jews. The fact is that there is not now, nor was there in 1935, a "committee of fifty-nine". Of the State Control Commission of 195, eight were Jews. Of the executive committee of twenty-eight, two were Jews. Of the political bureau of eight, one was a Jew — Kaganovich.

So much for the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin's "proof" of Jewish responsibility for the Russian Revolution. Any careful study of that revolution would show conclusively that Jews played only a minor part. But we are not concerned with that question here. All we want

to show is that in his parade of "facts", *Father Coughlin apparently was not too interested in the truth.*

Nor do his "mistakes" end there. Father Coughlin wants to make his listeners hate the Jews. He wants them to blame the Jews for all evils. So he insists that Jewish capitalists and Jewish Communists are conspiring together. His "evidence" is an alleged report of the United States Secret Service that Kuhn, Loeb and Company and certain individual American Jews financed the Russian Revolution.

Does the report exist ? Frank J. Wilson, chief of the Secret Service, says it does not. Where did Father Coughlin get this idea, then ? Did he make it up ? No, he got it from a Nazi paper called *World Service.* He is not only circulating misinformation; he is circulating Nazi lies.

It is of course ridiculous to say that Jewish capitalists and Jewish Communists are conspiring together, an idea gotten from the notorious *Protocols of Zion,* written by a Czarist Russian police spy, and proved irrefutably in a court trial in Switzerland to be a forgery.

It is equally ridiculous to say that Jews control capitalism or the financial system. Is J. P. Morgan a Jew ? Are the Rockefellers and the DuPonts ? Or is Henry Ford ? When Father Coughlin pretends to attack the rich he singles out rich Jews, so that the anger of the workers in his following will be directed against the

Jews, and not against the enemies of labor and the reactionaries in whose interest Father Coughlin is working. Father Coughlin pretends that he is opposed only to "bad" Jews, but articles in his magazine — such as Ben Marcin's "The Talmud as a Cause of Persecution", in the issue of December 12, 1938, — argue that the "badness" of the Jews grows out of both their race and their religion. In short, Father Coughlin really declares that all Jews are "bad" Jews, and the result is to arouse hatred against all Jews. The outcome of such hatred is the pogroms of Czarist Russia and the murders, beatings and robbings of Nazi Germany.

The Catholics and the Jews

Catholics and Jews have much in common. Catholics in America, and especially in New England, have faced persecution at the hands of a bigoted and prejudiced minority of Protestants. The Ku Klux Klan has been violently anti-Catholic as it has been anti-Jewish. The American Protective Association (the APA) has been above all anti-Catholic. Spiritually, Catholics and Jews have a common bond, based on great common persecution, in the past, as well as at the present time in Germany, Austria and Italy.

Fortunately, we know that Father Coughlin does not speak for the Catholic Chuch. Said Cardinal Mundelein in a statement released over the radio on December 11 : "As an American citizen, Father Coughlin has the right to express his personal views on current events, but he is not authorized to speak for the Catholic Church, nor does he represent the doctrine or sentiments of the Church."

Nor does he represent the doctrine or sentiments of the Church ! This was already clear to those who had read the words that Pope Pius XI had addressed to a group of pilgrims from Germany: "Abraham is called our patriarch, our ancestor. Anti-Semitism is not compatible with the reality of this text; it is a movement

which Christians cannot share. *No, it is not possible for Christians to take part in anti-Semitism. We are Semites spiritually.*" This is the spiritual and temporal head of the Catholic Church speaking. *Any Catholic who encourages anti-Semitism is untrue to his faith.*

Father Coughlin knows this, and he pretends, as we have seen, that he is not an anti-Semite. Whom does he deceive? Not his fellow-Catholics, surely, for a Catholic weekly, *The Commonweal,* has stated: "The American public generally, not to say Catholics themselves, know what they mean by anti-Semitism, and know it when they see and hear it. . . . The Nazis also expressed all kindly consideration for the 'good' Jew as opposed to the 'international' or bad Jew. They also manifested regard for the good, positive Christian as opposed to the bad, unpatriotic Christian, especially those with a 'foreign allegiance'. . . . It is small consolation to the 'good' Christian and Jew in Germany to remember now that at one time Hitler defended them."

The Catholic World, edited by the Paulist Fathers, says in its December number, "When the Jews in earlier ages, persecuted in France and Spain and Germany and Austria and England and Italy, cried out for aid, certain of the Popes, Alexander III, Innocent IV, Gregory X, welcomed them to Rome and protected them. . . . Already fascist organs, with of course the acquiescence of Mussolini, have called the Holy Father a Jew because of his protest against the persecution of that afflicted people." Mussolini's Blackshirts have begun brutal

attacks on members of Catholic Action groups. In Germany the Nazis are preparing to proceed against the Catholics in exactly the same way they did against the Jews. German Catholics, foreseeing their own destruction, are horrified that certain American Catholics like Father Coughlin are giving support and encouragement to the mortal enemies of their own Church.

Intelligent Catholics generally know that race hatred is a danger, not only to democracy, but also to their own Church. The Catholic College Press Association, speaking for 17,000 Catholic college students, adopted a resolution saying, "In this tragic hour for the Jew in Germany, Catholic students are impelled to express their deep anxiety over the rising tide of anti-Jewish feeling in the world. . . . The obvious teachings of the Gospel oblige us to take a front position in the battle against racial hatred and intolerance always, but particularly at this time and in the United States."

Frank J. Hogan, president of the American Bar Association, and distinguished Catholic layman, addressed a nation-wide radio audience to make it clear that Catholics are not in agreement with Father Coughlin. Recalling the outrages of the Ku Klux Klan against Catholics and Negroes, as well as Jews, Mr. Hogan asserted that Catholicism, like other religions, was "vitally interested in religious freedom in the United States." Warning that one hate leads to another, he said, "For this very practical reason, as well as others, we Catholics cannot permit men of ill-will to preach

in America bigotry and anti-Semitism without raising our voices in protest."

At the time that Henry Ford and his *Dearborn Independent* tried to stir up a campaign against the Jews, using the very untruths that Coughlin repeats today, hundreds of Americans signed an eloquent attack on anti-Semitism. The three names that headed the list were those of Woodrow Wilson, William Howard Taft, and William Cardinal O'Connell.

Anti-Semitism, says *The Commonweal,* is "one side of a coin on whose reverse is inscribed, 'No Popery' ". Once aroused, the spirit of hatred, as Catholics have learned in Germany and Austria, cannot be curbed. Everything we cherish is threatened by anti-Semitism, and we are grateful to those Catholics — the great majority — who have shown their consciousness of this fact.

How Many Rich Jews?

Every oppressed nation, every minority group, has always faced a special form of anti-Semitism of its own. The English oppressors, in order to justify the suppression of Ireland, created a wide-spread belief among the English people that the Irish were "barbaric", "ignorant", "filthy", that they "could not take care of themselves"; that they "lived with the pigs". These vile lies were spread in order to deny Ireland her right to independence and freedom.

Similarly, the Southern slave-owners said of the Negro people that they were "lazy", "ignorant", "rapists", "inferior to the whites", in order to justify the horrible institution of slavery. These lies are still used against the Negro people in order to divide the white from the Negro, and in order to defend the institution of Jim-Crow and discrimination.

Anti-Semitism, like race prejudice and slander against oppressed nations, is therefore the means to justify the inhuman treatment of the Jews.

When it is successful in its foul purpose, how does anti-Semitism work? Here for example is a small New England manufacturing city. There are Jews working in the factories, there are a few Jewish storekeepers, there is perhaps a small factory owned by a Jew. The

average worker does not think particularly about the Jews who work with him in his shop as Jews. They are individuals like anyone else; some he likes, some he doesn't. That is all there is to it. But say he has trouble with a Jewish storekeeper about a back bill he owes, or he thinks the storekeeper has overcharged him. (The storekeeper is probably just scraping along, getting about eighteen dollars a week out of his store.) Say the Jewish owners of the factory in which he works put through a fifteen percent wage cut. Then he gets angry. He remembers things he has heard about Jews, the fables of Coughlin and other anti-Semites, and blames his troubles on the Jews, and not on the defects of the economic system which bring about the difficulties.

A few years ago *Fortune,* the magazine of big business, made a careful survey called *The Jew in America.* It found that the common beliefs about the economic position of the Jews were completely false. Take for instance the references to "international bankers" made so frequently by Father Coughlin and the other anti-Semites. Of the banking houses making foreign loans, J. P. Morgan, at the time of the *Fortune* survey, led all the rest, with over 19% of all the foreign loans. But does Father Coughlin ever mention J. P. Morgan? Several other non-Jewish firms followed J. P. Morgan in importance, and then came Kuhn, Loeb and Co., the largest Jewish banking house, with less than 3% of the foreign loans. Of the 420 directors in the 19 member firms of the New York Clearing House in 1933, only

30, or about 7%, were Jews. They had a very inconspicuous role in heavy industry, steel, automobiles, coal, rubber, shipping. The only two important productive industries in which Jewish ownership was dominant were moving pictures and clothing manufacture.

For every wealthy Jew there are literally hundreds of thousands of poor and obscure Jews working in factories and sweat shops and stores. Jews feel the limitations of the present economic system as much as anyone else. Under the pressure of cut-throat competition and the demands of the wholesalers, Jewish drygoods stores and drug stores fail just as often as those run by men of any other origin. When Jewish and Italian workers went out on strike in Boston in the Garment Workers' Strike of 1936, certain Jewish employers called out Irish policemen to arrest and intimidate the Jewish and Italian workers. The differences between the rich and the poor exist among Jews the same as among other people. What is necessary, of course, is for workers to understand, first, the falseness of anti-Semitic propaganda, and second, the real causes of low wages and unemployment.

How to Combat Anti-Semitism

The Statue of Liberty and the American Flag will not protect us unless we protect the principles for which they stand. We cannot solve the problem of anti-Semitism unless we regard it as part of the larger problem of the battle with the enemies of democracy, who don't want democracy to work, don't want it to grow and develop until there is prosperity and security and freedom for all. When the reactionaries say they are attacking the Jews, they are really attacking progress and defending reaction. For them, democracy itself becomes Jewish, and anyone who is a leader in progressive movements is called a Jew. President Roosevelt is called Rosenfelt, a Jew. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins is called a Jew. Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia is called a Jew. Even the Pope has recently been called a Jew.

A man who lets anti-Semitic thoughts and fears influence his behavior and social life is in danger of betraying his Americanism. At one time in Massachusetts men could not vote unless they were members of a certain church and had a certain amount of wealth. Quakers were whipped and driven out of New England towns; Catholics were not allowed to hold public office. These things are no longer true, because all through the history of the United States men of vision and courage have fought to give *all* the people, rich

and poor, white and Negro, a share in government, without discrimination of race or creed. Equality under the law has been the principle of Americanism.

But this idea has never been completely put into effect; powerful and ambitious men, entrenched privilege have opposed it. To the extent that this principle has operated, to that extent has our country been great and prosperous, an inspiration to the downtrodden all over the world who have come here for generations to till the fields, to build America's roads and great cities.

Today, as never before in our country, greed and power are fiercely attacking the American principle in order to "divide and rule." Those who would keep down the standard of American living, threaten also to subvert the democratic foundations of our country. Even now, what region of our country is most backward in standard of living and education and public health? It is that section of the South where the discrimination against the Negro is most intense, where he is still kept in a slave-like condition. A country cannot prosper, said Abraham Lincoln, while it is half-slave and half-free.

Those who foster anti-Semitism, we have seen, take their stand with the Black Hundreds and pogrom-makers of Czarism, and the liars and forgers who framed Captain Dreyfus. They reject the ideas of Thomas Paine, of Washington and Jefferson, of Jackson and Lincoln, of the liberators of mankind. They side with those who fear the people, who fear the kind

of democratic development that has made the United States a leader in world progress. They want to turn the clock back in the United States to poverty, discrimination and intolerance.

We oppose anti-Semitism, then, not only because it is false and unfair, but because anti-Semitism and democracy cannot live side by side. What can we do to assure democracy and to eliminate anti-Semitism *at the root?*

First, of course, we must fight anti-Semitism directly—by education, by protesting every evidence of anti-Semitism, by the boycott, by giving aid to refugees. This is a fight in defence of the American Bill of Rights under which our people are not only protected against discrimination on account of religion and race, but are also guaranteed the right to speak their minds, to print books, pamphlets and newspapers, to have public meetings, to choose by secret ballot those who shall govern them. To allow any "whittling down" of the Bill of Rights is to allow its foundations to be undermined.

Second, we must put our democracy into the best working order, extend it throughout the length and breadth of our nation, make it penetrate thoroughly into our legislatures, factories, schools and courts. Hitler and Mussolini have declared themselves leaders in a crusade against democracy — *the way to defeat them is to make democracy work!*

Third and last — but most important of all — we must

assure a sound basis and future for our democracy by guaranteeing all Americans economic security, employment at reasonable hours and for a living wage, a fair share in the productive wealth of their country. This is the decisive answer to the threat of anti-Semitism, to the dangers menacing our civil liberties. The jobless and despairing, the hungry and the desperate — these are easier prey to the sinister forces who play upon their fears and prejudices, divert their wretchedness and anger upon the heads of scape-goats, promise them an easy and direct escape from their difficulties.

Let us proceed with the fullest confidence in the American people to whose spirit and traditions anti-Semitism is entirely alien. Let us proceed with the confidence that the people are, in their great majority, ready and willing to unite around a program for economic security, for civil liberties and democracy whose achievement would make inconceivable the growth of anti-Semitism and Fascism. To this end, every true American will spare no effort, will find no obstacle too difficult, will be satisfied with nothing short of the final victory of democracy and progress against fascism and reaction.

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